2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

various local groups. Transients of course were numerous. Levshin[7] mentions that in some places a fiancé who had paid the first part of the kalym might pitch his kibitka in the camp of his betrothed and live there until the transaction had been completed and he was able to take her home. Since the payments might sometimes be extended over a period of several years the prospective bridegroom perhaps became a fixture about the camp.

In addition there were large numbers of itinerant visitors, travelers, merchants, and wandering mullahs. Beggars formed a large group to whom it was considered meritorious to make gifts.[8]

All these alien elements went far to increase the complexity of social groupings and to obscure the sharp demarcation between uru groups.

HOSPITALITY

The custom of hospitality (qonaqaçь) to strangers may be noted in its connection with inter-group relations.

In principle any passing traveler was entitled to stop at any man's kibitka and remain indefinitely. One of my informants said: "He doesn't have to pay and can stay as long as he likes; the owner of the house will never tell him to go." The host was responsible for the welfare of his guest and might be obliged to pay damages equivalent to those for murder for any stranger who succumbed to starvation or exhaustion even in the vicinity of the camp.[9]

Apparently such open hospitality was liable to prove a burden because Grodekov remarks[10] that the Kazak always avoided camping near roads or frequented routes in order to obviate a deluge of ravenous guests and "if it is necessary to camp near a road they conceal themselves behind a hill."

In addition to thus escaping the responsibilities of hospitality, the custom was in practice considerably limited by two factors.

Although in theory anyone, even an enemy, was entitled to hospitality, my informants said that such an instance would never arise. One usually stopped only at places where one had some expectation of finding a welcome.

A more important limitation was that in practice hospitality was restricted to members of one's own class. The rich entertained the rich and the poor sought shelter with the poor. The poor man would probably not be turned away from the rich man's door but where the duties of hospitality were ceremonially observed for an important guest by cutting the throat of a sheep, which was afterwards eaten, a humble visitor would receive only milk or tea. The gauging of hospitality by the importance of the guest is mentioned

[7] *Description des hordes*, 360.

[8] See also Levshin, op. cit., 344; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 233–23.

[9] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 217–18.

[10] *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 110.

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khabar is exactly the same as having an invitation ready in one's pocket to a filling dinner in any aul. As soon as the newcomer says that there is khabar, he is regaled at once and he eats and relates it to his hosts. Then at once one of his hosts uses this opportunity to get something to eat in the next aul, and hurries off there with the news. This explains the unusual speed with which rumors spread in the steppe.

K 177

Upon contact with advanced nations, the Kazakhs adopt their superficial gloss and their habits for themselves with remarkable

K [811]

rapidity, but without losing their own nationality or being contemptuous of it. The sciences are quite accessible to them and they understand especially easily an analytic type of exposition.

K [809]

They do the Russians full justice, recognizing in them a moral and physical advantage. Thus they have the saying: Sary-kazak kara-kalmak, sary-urus kara-kazak, which means, the Kazakh is as much whiter or brighter than the Kalmyk as the Russian is more than the Kazakh. This proverb applies just as much to moral qualities. Thus the Kazakhs often come to Russian functionaries to be tried.

/352/ The Sarts

S 101

The origin of the Sarts. There is no Sart people. But the Russians have followed the nomads in using this name for the sedentary population of Turkestan, the people who live in the towns and villages and work in agriculture, the crafts and in trade. The people who have been given this name differ greatly both in language and in origin, but possess